

1996

## Nikolai Aleksandrovich Rozhkov (1868-1927): historian and revolutionary

John Antonio Gonzalez Rondan  
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# **Nikolai Aleksandrovich Rozhkov (1868-1927): Historian and Revolutionary**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the  
requirements for the award of the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

from

THE UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

John Antonio Gonzalez Rondan  
B.A. (Hons.) Dip.Ed WU  
GradCertLOTETeach CSU



Department of History and Politics  
August 1996



**Nikolai Aleksandrovich ROZHKOV**  
**1868-1927**

**To the memory of LYNN GONZALEZ  
and PETER JOHNSTON**

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "JA Gonzalez Rondon". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style. Below the signature is a horizontal dotted line.

John A. Gonzalez Rondon

## Acknowledgements

I have been living with Rozhkov for so many years now that he has become a part of my life. Family and friends will be puzzled when I no longer offer Nikolai Aleksandrovich as an excuse for my anti-social behaviour. I could not have completed this project without the moral and practical support of my family and friends. However, I would still be puzzling over Rozhkov if it were not for the assistance I received from a number of special individuals.

I would like to thank Peter Johnston whose knowledge and love of Russian and Soviet history inspired me to take on this research. Peter was my original supervisor but sadly did not live to see the final product.

I am very grateful to Ludmila Natalenko who taught me the Russian language.

I owe a very special thanks to Associate Professor Colm Kiernan and Associate Professor David Christian who worked very hard to help me get through to the end after Peter's death. This thesis has profited tremendously from their advice and experience. Thanks also go to Professor Jimmy White for his comments and suggestions.

I would like to thank my friends in Moscow: Professor Oleg Vladimirovich Volobuev for the time he spent with me in 1994 talking about Rozhkov and for his encouragement and enthusiasm; Professor Viktor Iakovlevich Deriagin, Director of the Department of Manuscripts, and Katia Matveenکو, Librarian of the Department of Manuscripts, at the Lenin Library, for their assistance and expertise; Inessa Aleksandrovna Makarova for her help and energy and Vladimir Petrovich Dolmatov, Editor of *Rodina*, for his knowledge and hospitality.

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I owe a special gratitude to the staff of the Inter-Library Loans section of the University of Wollongong who were able to obtain for me valuable material from

the Lenin Library in Moscow, the New York Public Library and the British Museum.

My friend, Brian Scott, helped me with the printing and copying of the photographs in the thesis. All going well, the other photographs will be published in the near future.

Once again, I would like to express my warmest thanks to my family and friends. I could not have done it without you.

It goes without saying, the mistakes are mine!



## Abstract

Nikolai Aleksandrovich Rozhkov (1868-1927) was a well-known and influential Russian historian and political activist. He was held in great respect by his teachers, colleagues and students and was regarded by some as the most gifted disciple of Kliuchevskii, the greatest of all Russian historians. Kliuchevskii held Rozhkov in higher esteem than he did Mikhail Nikolaevich Pokrovskii, who eventually became the leading historian of the early Soviet period. Despite such accolades, no major work has been written on Rozhkov either in the Soviet Union or in the West. An assessment of his historical writings and of his political activities is long overdue. This thesis aims at addressing the first of these two areas. It investigates Rozhkov's understanding of history and his interpretation of early Russian history. The thesis also sheds light on Rozhkov's political ideas. It argues that Rozhkov's historical views led him to adopt a Menshevik position after 1907. For Rozhkov, the political ideas of Menshevism were consistent with the mechanical determinism of his theory of historical development. The thesis therefore offers an explanation of his political career as well as assessing his historical ideas.

The thesis examines Rozhkov's theory of history with the aim of determining what kind of historian he was. In so doing, the thesis tries to ascertain what the most important influences on Rozhkov were and to determine the concepts that formed the essential ingredients of his theory of historical development. These concepts are then examined in a detailed study of Rozhkov's interpretation of Kievan Rus'.

The thesis demonstrates that from his earliest work Rozhkov believed that history was a science. So he also believed that the methods used in the natural sciences could be applied to all social sciences, especially the science of history. The thesis further demonstrates that by 1905 Rozhkov had already formulated his theory of history. This theory was the product of several schools of thought that existed in Russia, but two were particularly important. Rozhkov was influenced by Auguste Comte's writings and the positivist ideas that existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Russia. The most important result of this positivist influence was Rozhkov's conviction that there existed laws of social statics and laws of social dynamics and that the

study of history has as its purpose the discovery and verification of these laws.

While his theory of history owed most to positivism, his approach to historical methodology and to the interpretation of historical evidence owed most to the influence of his teacher and mentor, Kliuchevskii. From Kliuchevskii, Rozhkov inherited a passion for documentary research, a concern for social and economic factors and an interest in formulating general laws of historical development. It was also from Kliuchevskii that he came to believe in the value of the primacy of the economic factor in history. It is a shame that Rozhkov did not also acquire Kliuchevskii's sensitivity to the difficulty of identifying and applying historical laws in practice.

Contrary to accepted opinion, Marxism was a less important influence on Rozhkov than either positivism or the work of Kliuchevskii. It is true that by 1905 Rozhkov was familiar with aspects of Marxist thought. He believed that Marxism was essentially about economics and that economic factors played a vital role in history. There can be no doubt that in his early works he rejected certain tenets that are central to Marxist thought. Rozhkov placed no great emphasis upon class analysis and class struggle in his history writing. He also criticised Marxism for not taking into account the important insights provided by the psychological school in sociology.

The thesis concludes that Rozhkov was a prolific historian who, in the tradition established by Kliuchevskii, had acquired a huge appetite for primary research. His skill in analysing primary sources provided a sound base for his historical research. His work is very impressive by virtue of the enormous detail and erudition it contains. It is also important and valuable because in his desire to make sense of the past, Rozhkov produced a grandiose classification scheme that organised data and led to many interesting and profound questions. Yet, despite producing some historical studies that were as impressive and scholarly as those written by Kliuchevskii, Rozhkov was a flawed historian.

He was a flawed historian not only because he believed that the social sciences ought to be treated and analysed as natural sciences, but chiefly because he believed that all phenomena could be explained and predicted when the universal laws that governed them were discovered.

Although the search for historical laws was common among some thinkers at the turn of the century, in the end, Rozhkov's sociological theory of history was too rigid to do justice to the complex situations it was trying to explain.

Despite the fact that Rozhkov believed his laws of social statics and social dynamics were derived from the historical evidence that he presented, this thesis will demonstrate that Rozhkov was unable to marry successfully the disciplines of history and sociology as he defined them. This is so because Rozhkov could not escape from the simplistic positivist belief that simple, mechanical laws can be deduced that explain historical development.

The legacy of such an assumption was an interesting but unsuccessful blend of impressive mastery over historical details with a naïve belief in unconvincing and crude historical laws. In the final analysis, Rozhkov produced a history of Russia that, although interesting, was tainted with laws of social development that were mechanical and wooden in nature. This is not to suggest that Rozhkov's history should not be read and studied. Despite its faults and weaknesses, Rozhkov's historical work and theory serve as an excellent illustration and reflection of the complex array of philosophical thoughts that existed at the turn of the century and that determined the character of late Russian imperial and early Soviet historical writing. His work also counts as one of the most thoroughgoing attempts by a pre-revolutionary Russian historian to identify and explore the role of general laws in the historical process.

The principal question of what kind of historian Rozhkov was leads to other questions about him and about his place in Russian and Soviet historiography. Rozhkov has fared poorly at the hands of Soviet critics because he embraced Menshevik views from 1907. In the past, the narrow manner in which the origins and early development of Soviet historiography have been analysed has made for a rejection of Rozhkov's historical works. Both inside and outside the Soviet Union, this analysis has been carried out within a narrow "Marxist versus non-Marxist" framework. This approach is a legacy of Bolshevik and Stalinist intolerance; it should no longer affect the way historians approach the past. It resulted in a distortion of historical reality. Not only was the false impression gained that a single "Marxist doctrine" existed but that

people and ideas could be evaluated according to some yardstick of orthodox Marxism. This study argues that the Marxist versus non-Marxist account is a most inadequate way of examining the historiography of this period. It not only prevents the researcher from posing broader questions about historians that are considered "Marxist" but, more significantly, it belittles or denies the importance and merit of those historians who are characterised as "non-Marxist".

It is inadequate to discuss Rozhkov's work purely within the Marxist tradition. By placing Rozhkov firmly within the positivist tradition, this thesis allows for a much better understanding of his ideas. At the same time, an implication of this conclusion is that positivism played a greater role in historical thinking in Russia at the turn of the century than did Marxism. To my knowledge, the thesis also contains the fullest, existing bibliography of Rozhkov's writings.

## Table of Transliteration

The transliteration system used in this thesis is a modified Library of Congress system, omitting diacritical marks.

А	а	A	a	Р	р	R	r
Б	б	B	b	С	с	S	s
В	в	V	v	Т	т	T	t
Г	г	G	g	У	у	U	u
Д	д	D	d	Ф	ф	F	f
Е	е	E	e	Х	х	Kh	kh
Ж	ж	Zh	zh	Ц	ц	Ts	ts
З	з	Z	z	Ч	ч	Ch	ch
И	и	I	i	Ш	ш	Sh	sh
І	і	I	i	Щ	щ	Shch	shch
Й	й	I	i	—	Ъ	—	"
К	к	K	k	—	Ы	—	y
Л	л	L	l	—	Ь	—	'
М	м	M	m	Ѣ	ѣ	E	e
Н	н	N	n	Э	э	E	e
О	о	O	o	Ю	ю	Iu	iu
П	п	P	p	Я	я	Ia	ia

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# Introduction

Undoubtedly, one of the greatest Russian historians  
Stepanov (1928)

The importance which properly belongs to Rozhkov in his  
capacity as a historian and a materialist thinker has  
been overshadowed by the later eminence of Pokrovsky  
White (1971)

Rozhkov can boldly be called one of the most interesting  
and original individuals at the turn of the century  
Tarasova (1990)

Nikolai Aleksandrovich Rozhkov was a prolific  
historian of the late imperial and early Soviet period of  
Russia's history. In a career spanning some thirty-four  
years, he produced in excess of four hundred published  
works. V.O. Kliuchevskii, the great Russian historian,  
regarded Rozhkov as one of his most gifted disciples.<sup>1</sup>  
Included among Rozhkov's works was a twelve-volume  
history of Russia as well as many shorter studies that  
dealt with various aspects of Russian and world history.  
References to his work are to be found in most major  
studies of Russian history that appeared in the first half  
of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

In his impressive and highly respected four-volume  
study, *Das russische Recht*, the influential German  
historian L.K. Goetz refers to the research done by  
Rozhkov on the subject and frequently quotes him in his

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<sup>1</sup> A. Bol'shakov, "N.A. Rozhkov kak uchenyi", *Nauchnyi Rabotnik*,  
Nos. 5-6, 1927, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> For example, B.D. Grekov, *Kiev Rus* (Moscow: Foreign Languages  
Publishing House, 1959), p. 47; A.A. Zimin, *Rossia na rubezhe  
XV-XVI stoletii (oчерki sotsial'no politicheskoi istorii)* (Moscow:  
Mysl', 1982), p. 12; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven:  
Yale University Press, 1948, reprinted 1973), p. 99 and A.  
Lunacharskii and V. Polianskii, *Oчерki po istorii russkoi kritiki*  
(Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1929).

study.<sup>3</sup> In a commemorative address to the Society of Marxist Historians in honour of the recently deceased Rozhkov, M.N. Pokrovskii admitted in 1927 that Russian scholars had not fully appreciated the studies produced by Rozhkov. On the other hand, Western European scholars like Goetz held Rozhkov in very high esteem.<sup>4</sup>

Several of Rozhkov's works have appeared in translation. His writing has been translated and published in Hebrew, Polish, Latvian, Armenian and Ukrainian. In 1905, he co-authored with W.V. Dehn a review of the literature on Russian social and economic history which was only published in German. Although only to a modest extent, Rozhkov's historical studies fulfilled Pokrovskii's claim that a scholar's work had to appear in translation to show its "world significance".<sup>5</sup>

Rozhkov was widely regarded as an inspiring and knowledgeable teacher. He not only influenced a great many Russian historians but attracted many students to his courses and lectures.<sup>6</sup> His talent as a speaker and lecturer was matched by his commitment to public

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<sup>3</sup> L.K. Goetz, *Das Russische Recht*, Volumes I-IV (Stuttgart, 1910-1913). See also: A.N. Filippov, *Russkaia Pravda v issledovanniiakh nemetskogo uchenogo* (Moscow, 1914), p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> M.N. Pokrovskii, "N.A. Rozhkov", *Istoriik-Marksist*, No. 4, 1927, pp. 179-188.

<sup>5</sup> O.D. Sokolov, "Ob istoricheskikh vzgliadakh M.N. Pokrovskogo", *Kommunist*, Vol. IV, 1962, p. 76. For a list of all of Rozhkov's work which has appeared in translation, refer to the bibliography of Rozhkov's work at the end of this thesis.

<sup>6</sup> N. Chekhov, "Pamiati N.A. Rozhkova: (Iz lichnykh vospominanii)", *Vestnik Prosveshcheniia*, No. 3, 1927, p. 120. See also: A.A. Gaisinovich, "Rozhkov-uchitel' (Vospominaniia)", *Uchenye zapiski instituta istorii Rossiiskoi Assotsiatsii Nauchno-Issledovatel'skikh Institutov Obshchestvennykh Nauk (RANION)*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1928, pp. 157-163.

education. Rozhkov spent a great deal of time addressing gatherings and meetings of all types.<sup>7</sup> He wrote many textbooks with the aim of popularizing history and encouraging self-education. His *Textbook Of Russian History For Secondary Educational Institutions and For Self-education* went through seven editions between 1901 and 1922.<sup>8</sup> Many of his lectures were also published and proved very popular.<sup>9</sup>

Rozhkov was also a political activist.<sup>10</sup> His ability as an orator and writer found expression in his tireless work as a political propagandist. In the late 1880s, he was attracted to socialist political ideas and in 1905 he joined the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (R.S.D.L.P.) He was an active Bolshevik both in Moscow and St. Petersburg and in 1907 he was elected a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee.<sup>11</sup> After 1907, Rozhkov moved away from the Bolsheviks and towards the Menshevik faction of the

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<sup>7</sup> O.V. Volobuev, "N.A. Rozhkov v gody pervoi russkoi revoliutsii", *Uchenye Zapiski* (Moskovskii oblastnoi pedagogicheskii institut im. N.K. Krupskoi, 1965), Vol. 121, pp. 103-119.

<sup>8</sup> O.V. Volobuev, "N.A. Rozhkov — Metodist-istorik", *Uchenye Zapiski* (Moskovskii oblastnoi pedagogicheskii institut im. N.K. Krupskoi, 1965), Vol. 121, pp. 254-293.

<sup>9</sup> K.V. Sivkov (ed.), *Materialy dlia bibliografii trudov N.A. Rozhkova* (Moscow, 1928), pp. 11-46.

<sup>10</sup> N.N. Stepanov, "Politicheskaiia deiatel'nost' N.A. Rozhkova", *Uchenye zapiski instituta istorii RANIONa*, pp. 69-128. See also: V.I. Nevskii, "N.A. Rozhkov-revoliutsioner (iz vospominanii)", *Uchenye zapiski instituta istorii RANIONa*, pp. 146-156.

<sup>11</sup> N.A. Rozhkov, *Avtobiografiia*, in "Pamiati N.A. Rozhkova", *Katorga i Ssylka*, No. 3, 1927, pp. 163-164.

R.S.D.L.P. In 1917 he served as a Deputy Minister of Post and Telegraph in the Provisional Government.<sup>12</sup>

It was Bolshevism, not Menshevism, that emerged triumphant from the 1917 Revolution. Pokrovskii, the leading historian of the early Soviet era, was to warn of the dangers of Rozhkovism [*Rozhkovshchina*] in the same breath as he warned of the dangers of Plekhanovism [*Plekhanovshchina*].<sup>13</sup> A one-time close friend of Lenin, Rozhkov became one of the Bolshevik leader's most fierce critics after 1907.<sup>14</sup> Lenin's hatred for Rozhkov rubbed off on Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, who took time off on one occasion to slap the historian for writing "slandorous rubbish" about Lenin's *What is to be Done?*.<sup>15</sup>

Rozhkov was never made the subject of serious study by Soviet authors. By the time of his death in 1927, Rozhkov had long fallen from grace in the eyes of the Bolshevik-dominated Soviet government. Soviet

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164. See also: R. Hellie's article on Rozhkov in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, Vol. 31, 1983, pp. 217-221 and R.P. Browder and A.F. Kerensky (eds.), *The Russian Provisional Government 1917*, Vol. 1 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 432.

<sup>13</sup> M.N. Pokrovskii, *Istoricheskaia nauka i bor'ba klassov*, 2 Vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1933), Vol. 1, pp. 99-100.

<sup>14</sup> See: Russian Centre for the Preservation and Study of Recent Historical Documentation, Moscow, f. 2, op. 2, d. 134. This is the new title of the Party Central Committee Archives for the years 1917 to 1952, hereafter referred to in the thesis by its acronym RTsKhIDNI. See also: D. Volkogonov (translated and edited by H. Shukman), *Lenin: Life and Legacy* (London: HarperCollins, 1994), pp. 197, 362-363.

<sup>15</sup> R.H. McNeal, *Bride of the Revolution* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1972), p. 190. See also: N.K. Krupskaya, *Reminiscences of Lenin* (New York: International Publishers, 1960), p. 152 and P.S.R. Payne, *The Life and Death of Trotsky* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977), p. 255.

authors like R.A. Averbukh<sup>16</sup>, M. Tsvibak<sup>17</sup> and M.V. Nechkina<sup>18</sup> have dealt with Rozhkov's theory of history by generalising about the whole of his enormous corpus of work. Other Soviet authors have been concerned to show what a "non-Marxist", "vulgar Marxist" or "naïve economic determinist" Rozhkov was.<sup>19</sup> Some authors have merely echoed the hatred that Lenin had for Rozhkov, vilifying him as a renegade and betrayer of the masses.<sup>20</sup> Still others have examined particular aspects of his historical work or political activity.<sup>21</sup>

With little information and no English-language translations of his work available, Rozhkov has received only passing attention from non-Soviet scholars. Brief discussions of aspects of Rozhkov's work have been

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- <sup>16</sup> R.A. Averbukh, "Evoliutsiia sotsiologicheskikh vozzrenii N.A. Rozhkova", *Uchenye zapiski instituta istorii RANIONa*, pp. 15-68.
- <sup>17</sup> M. Tsvibak, "Rozhkov-istorik", *Kommunisticheskaia Mysl'*, Tashkent, No. 4, 1927, pp. 1-24.
- <sup>18</sup> M.V. Nechkina, *Russkaia istoriia v osveshchenii ekonomicheskogo materializma (istoriograficheskii ocherk)* (Kazan': Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo, 1922).
- <sup>19</sup> See: A. Petrova, "N.A. Rozhkov kak istorik rossii" in M.N. Pokrovskii (ed.), *Russkaia istoricheskaiia literatura v klassovom osveshchenii*, Vol. II (Moscow: Kommunisticheskoi Akademii, 1930), p. 344; A.A. Sidorov, "Istoricheskie vzgliady N.A. Rozhkova", *Istoriik-Marksist*, No. 13, 1929, pp. 191, 195, 198 and N. L. Rubinshtein, *Russkaia istoriografiia* (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1941), p. 564.
- <sup>20</sup> See: Pokrovskii, *Istoricheskaiia nauka i bor'ba klassov*, pp. 99-100 and E.N. Gorodetskii, *Lenin osnovopolozhnik sovetskoi istoricheskoi nauki* (Moscow, 1970), pp. 171-174.
- <sup>21</sup> See: O.V. Volobuev, "Voprosy sotsial'noi psikhologii v trudakh N.A. Rozhkova", *Istoriia i psikhologiia*, Otdel'nyi Ottisk (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), pp. 296-318. For good accounts of Rozhkov's political activities, particularly while he was in exile, see: L.S. Fedorchenko, "O N.A. Rozhkove"; N. Chuzhak, "Rozhkov v ssylke"; N. Teterin, "Moi vstrechi s N.A. Rozhkovym" and V. Bogoiavlenskii, "Iz vospominanii o N.A. Rozhkove" in "Pamiati N.A. Rozhkova", *op.cit.*, pp. 165-191.

written by R. Hellie<sup>22</sup>, G. Vernadsky<sup>23</sup>, J.D. White<sup>24</sup> and L. Yaresh<sup>25</sup>. A comprehensive study of Rozhkov or of his work has not appeared in the West. Yet, Rozhkov deserves attention, not just because of his merit as a historian. Because Rozhkov's ideas were products of the complex array of social, political and philosophical influences that existed in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century, a study of Rozhkov will serve to broaden and improve our understanding of Russian historiography.

Recent years have seen tremendous changes in the former Soviet Union. *Glasnost'* and *perestroika* have allowed the study of new archival materials and re-evaluations of the past have become possible. Historians in post-Soviet states are now free to study their own history without the constraints of Soviet orthodoxy. In January 1994, for instance, I was given access to the Rozhkov archive in the Lenin Library in Moscow and allowed to examine and make copies of unpublished works, articles, letters, diaries and photographs. The large amount of material that exists in this archive is slowly being examined. Very recently several aspects of Rozhkov's life and work have been reexamined and new,

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<sup>22</sup> Hellie, *op.cit.*, pp. 217-221.

<sup>23</sup> G. Vernadsky, *Russian Historiography: A History* (Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Company, 1978), pp. 276-277.

<sup>24</sup> J.D. White, *M.N. Pokrovsky And The Origins Of Soviet Historiography* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1971), pp. 50-56.

<sup>25</sup> L. Yaresh, "The Problem of Periodization" in C.E. Black (ed.), *Rewriting Russian History: Soviet Interpretations of Russia's Past* (New York: Vintage Books, second revised edition, 1962), pp. 34-77, esp. pp. 42-49.



albeit brief, studies of Rozhkov have been published in Russia.<sup>26</sup> At a time when Russia's history is once again open to reinterpretation and reassessment, detailed studies of characters like Rozhkov are of vital importance.<sup>27</sup>

This thesis will examine in detail Rozhkov's major ideas placing him in the broader context of Russian historical and political thought in the pre-revolutionary period, a period that greatly influenced later Soviet historiography. The main philosophic influence upon Rozhkov was the positivism championed by the French sociologist and philosopher, Auguste Comte. Positivism was a powerful influence not only on pre-revolutionary historical thought but shaped, to a much greater extent than has been recognised, Soviet Marxist historiography.

Rozhkov, of course, cannot be studied in intellectual isolation. Any discussion of Russian philosophical thought and historical ideas, especially in the late nineteenth century, necessarily involves an examination of Western European thought during that period. Apart from Vladimir Solov'ev, Russian philosophy in the late nineteenth century produced little that was its own. As J.D. White nicely put it: "If the owl of

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<sup>26</sup> See: N.N. Tarasova, "O filosofskikh i teoretiko-metodologicheskikh vzgliadakh N.A. Rozhkova (po rabotam 1893-1907 gg.)" in *Istoriia i istoriki. Istoriograficheskii sbornik* (Moscow: Nauka, 1990) and the articles published in the journal *Rodina* which began publication in Moscow in January, 1989.

<sup>27</sup> See: Volkogonov, *op.cit.*, pp. 362-363 and Z. Galili, *The Menshevik Leaders in the Russian Revolution: Social Realities and Political Strategies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 152, 159, 349 and 412.

Minerva flew only at dusk, it also flew from a Westerly direction".<sup>28</sup> On the whole, Russian philosophy reflected the innovations in Western European thought even if they were subsequently modified in a uniquely Russian manner. Rozhkov was particularly influenced by French, German and English thought. Names such as Gabriel Tarde, Fustel de Coulanges, Heinrich Rickert, Ludwig Gumplowicz, Lester Ward, Franklin H. Giddings and J.S. Mill, some of them forgotten now but all of them significant thinkers at the turn of the century, appear regularly in the footnotes of Rozhkov's works.

What may strike the reader as odd is that there are few references in Rozhkov's major works to the influential contemporary sociologists, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. Rozhkov read Durkheim and even commented favourably upon him in a review article.<sup>29</sup> While Rozhkov considered that Durkheim had made a useful contribution to the study of social development, this contribution was by no means outstanding because Durkheim had failed to explore adequately the economic basis of this development.<sup>30</sup> As for Weber, there are no references to him in Rozhkov's work before 1917 and only a few references thereafter.<sup>31</sup> This apparent lack of

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<sup>28</sup> White, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> N.A. Rozhkov, Review of E. Durkheim's *O razdelenii obshchestvennogo truda. Etiud ob organizatsii vysshikh obshchestv*, translated by P. Iushkevich, Odessa, 1900, in *Zhizn'*, No. 11, 1900, pp. 341-343.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 343.

<sup>31</sup> See: N.A. Rozhkov, *Russkaia istoriia v sravnitel'no-istoricheskoi osveshchenii (osnovy sotsial'noi dinamiki)* (Petrograd and Moscow: Kniga, 1918-1926), Vols. 1-12, *passim*.

interest in Weber may reflect Rozhkov's association of Weber with Heinrich Rickert, the neo-Kantian philosopher who so strongly influenced Weber and who was strongly criticised by Rozhkov.<sup>32</sup> Like Rickert, Weber rejected not only the possibility of causal laws in social sciences but insisted that there could be no "definitive, logically closed system of scientific theory".<sup>33</sup> Rozhkov, by contrast, was a firm believer in causal laws in both the natural and social sciences.

One thesis cannot deal adequately with every aspect of Rozhkov's scholarly output. The principal question posed in the thesis is, what kind of historian was Rozhkov? Put slightly differently, what were Rozhkov's main ideas and how did he apply these ideas in his analysis of Russian history and society? A number of secondary questions are posed as well, including: what were the major influences upon Rozhkov's thought? how skilful was Rozhkov at his craft? and what was the connection between Rozhkov's historical analysis and his political activity?

This thesis will argue that Rozhkov was principally concerned with improving the study of history by making it more scientific. He believed this goal could be achieved by applying to history what he considered to be the methodology employed in the

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<sup>32</sup> N.A. Rozhkov, *Istoricheskie i sotsiologicheskie ocherki. Sbornik statei*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1906), p. 36.

<sup>33</sup> T.E. Huff, *Max Weber and the Methodology of the Social Sciences* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1984), p. 8.

natural sciences. This scientific aspect is also found in Marxism and that is why Rozhkov has been labelled a Marxist. However, this thesis will demonstrate that Rozhkov's belief in a scientific theory of social development owes more to positivism than Marxism. In fact, Marxism was not a major influence on Rozhkov before 1905 and all of his major works were predominantly shaped by his pre-1905 ideas. The most important influences upon Rozhkov were the positivism of Comte and the economic materialism of his mentor, Kliuchevskii. Inspired by the writings of Comte and Kliuchevskii, Rozhkov formulated his sociological laws of historical development. For Rozhkov, the future of history lay in creating what Kliuchevskii described as a "historical sociology".<sup>34</sup>

This thesis supplements the seminal research done by J.F. Hecker, J.D. White, A. Vucinich and others<sup>35</sup>. Although these authors have pointed out the tremendous influence that positivism, in its various guises, has had on intellectual thought in Russia at the turn of the twentieth century, there does not exist a single major study on the subject. This thesis is the first major study, to my knowledge, that attempts to examine the

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<sup>34</sup> V.O. Kliuchevskii, *Sochineniia v deviat' tomakh*, Vol. 1 (Moscow: Mysl', 1987), p. 35.

<sup>35</sup> See: J.F. Hecker, *Russian Sociology* (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1915); White, *op.cit.*; A. Vucinich, *Social Thought in Tsarist Russia: The Quest for a General Science of Society, 1861-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976) and P.A. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories: Through The First Quarter Of The Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1964).

influence of positivist ideas on Russian intellectual thought in any systematic and detailed fashion.

For Rozhkov, history provided the evidence while sociology provided the laws that explained human development. The idea that social change can be explained by universal laws has come to be viewed with scepticism.<sup>36</sup> Rozhkov, however, belonged to a group of early social theorists that "tried to formulate invariant laws of society".<sup>37</sup> In his work *A Survey of Russian History from a Sociological Point of View*, Rozhkov listed the laws that determined his interpretation of history. Like some other modern thinkers, Rozhkov believed history to be about the collection of data while sociology was about method and theory and he wanted to link the two disciplines.<sup>38</sup> He tried to marry history and sociology by devising a hypothesis of social evolution.

This hypothesis entailed linking historical facts together as causes and effects with reference to his general sociological laws.<sup>39</sup> According to Rozhkov,

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<sup>36</sup> See: P. Gardiner (ed.), *The Philosophy of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 1-15; G. McLennan, *Marxism and the Methodologies of History* (London: Verso Edition, 1981), pp. 67-71; and K. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London: ARK, reprinted edition, 1989), pp. 105-119.

<sup>37</sup> C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 149.

<sup>38</sup> See: H. J. Kaye, *The British Marxist Historians: An Introductory Analysis* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984), pp. 1-22; G. Stedman Jones, "From Historical Sociology to Theoretic History", *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 27, September, 1976, pp. 295-305; P. Burke, *Sociology and History* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980); C. Tilly, *As Sociology Meets History* (New York: Academic Press, 1981); and P. Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Somerset: Open Books, 1982).

<sup>39</sup> See: A. Ryan (ed.), *The Philosophy of Social Explanation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 83.

different economic systems were assigned to levels or stages in the evolution of human society and culture. He believed that there was an evolution from simple bands of people engaged in extractive industries, with primitive notions of property rules, to villages with settled agriculture and clan or family property, and that was followed by more advanced stages of social and political development.<sup>40</sup> Consequently, Rozhkov's historical work cannot be understood without reference to his sociological theory.

Rozhkov was part of a broader European trend in the writing of history at the end of the nineteenth century. As R.G. Collingwood has noted, some historians at that time were dissatisfied with an empirical approach to history that revolved around the collection of facts.<sup>41</sup> These historians felt desperately that history could and should be much more than that and so some of them began searching for laws that explained the facts they compiled. For some, like Kliuchevskii, the discovery of historical laws was always a long-term project awaiting further research. For others, the time for formulating laws was long overdue. By 1898, Rozhkov believed that the time had come to move from the collection of facts to sociological laws.

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<sup>40</sup> See: G. Dalton (ed.), *Tribal and Peasant Economies: Readings in Economic Anthropology* (New York: The Natural History Press, 1967), pp. 3-12.

<sup>41</sup> R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea Of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, reprinted 1978), pp. 126-133. See also: E. Cassirer, *The Problem of Knowledge, Philosophy, Science, and History since Hegel* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 243-255.

This thesis is based on an exhaustive reading of Rozhkov's works. I have read every major published work Rozhkov produced. However, in explicating Rozhkov's ideas, this thesis draws mainly on the evidence from two of Rozhkov's major works. These are his *Russian History from a Sociological Point of View*, which was published between 1903 and 1905, and *The Fundamental Laws of the Development of Social Phenomena (A Short Sketch of Sociology)*, which was published in 1907. In these works he argued that social development could best be understood in terms of laws of social statics and social dynamics. Rozhkov applied his sociological theory to Russian history in greater detail in his twelve volume *Russian History in a Comparative Historical Interpretation (The Principles of Social Dynamics)*, which appeared between 1918 and 1926.<sup>42</sup>

While the last volume of the twelve-volume history made more reference to Marx and Marxist ideas than his earlier works, this reflected the political constraints of publishing in Soviet Russia more than any change in direction of Rozhkov's historical and sociological outlook. In fact, his last work borrowed so heavily upon the sociological theory contained in *A Survey of Russian History from a Sociological Point of View* and *The Fundamental Laws of the Development of Social Phenomena* that large sections of these works

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<sup>42</sup> See: N.A. Rozhkov, *Russkaia istoriia v sravnitel'no-istoricheskom osveshchenii (osnovy sotsial'noi dinamiki)* (Petrograd and Moscow: Kniga, 1918), pp. 7-22.

appeared verbatim in his twelve-volume history. It is in his pre-1907 works that Rozhkov most comprehensively and clearly outlined his main ideas: for this reason they form the basis of my study.

The thesis is divided into three parts. Chapters One and Two place Rozhkov in his political, social and intellectual context. Chapters Three and Four examine Rozhkov's analysis of the Kievan Rus' period of Russian history. Chapters Five and Six examine Rozhkov's sociological theory, in particular his laws of social statics and social dynamics. Chapter Seven demonstrates how an understanding of Rozhkov's positivist historical thought sheds a great deal of light on his political career, notably his movement away from Bolshevism to Menshevism, and his analysis of the contemporary situation in which he found himself.

Because Rozhkov's writings are little known in the West and his ideas have been distorted, deliberately or from lack of understanding, it is necessary to devote relatively much space to the direct presentation of his works. I have quoted Rozhkov's writings extensively to support my claims about his thinking and to enable the reader to experience Rozhkov's writings which are still not readily available outside of Russia.

The transliteration system used in this thesis (see Table of Transliteration) is a modified Library of Congress system, omitting diacritical marks. Names cited in works published in English have been left in



their original form to avoid any confusion. All dates given in the thesis follow the Gregorian calendar which is now in general use. With dates taken from before 14 February 1918, the Julian calendar date is given in brackets.